

## Message Text

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SUBJ: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT STROM THURMOND EDITORIAL, TUESDAY, MAY 7, NEW YORK TIMES HEADLINED "FOR PERPETUAL U.S. CONTROL OVER THE PANAMA CANAL."
2. SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER AND THE PANAMANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER, JUAN ANTONIO TACK, ON FEB. 7 SIGNED A "JOINT STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES" TO SERVE AS THE BASIS OF TREATY NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE SURRENDER OF UNITED STATES SOVEREIGNTY IN THE CANAL ZONE.
3. IN MY JUDGMENT, THE SECRETARY COMMITTED AN EGREGIOUS BLUNDER IN COMMITTING THE UNITED STATES TO A COURSE OF ACTION ON A NEW PANAMA TREATY WITHOUT A REASONABLE ASSURANCE THAT THE REQUISITE TWO-THIRDS MAJORITY OF THE SENATE SUPPORTED THE ABROGATION OF SOVEREIGNTY.
4. IN CONSULTATIONS WITH MEMBERS OF CONGRESS BEFORE SIGNING THE STATEMENT, MR. KISSINGER AND HIS CHIEF NEGOTIATOR, AMBASSADOR ELLSWORTH BUNKER, WERE ADVISED THAT

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TIATOR, AMBASSADOR ELLSWORTH BUNKER, WERE ADVISED THAT

SURRENDER OF UNITED STATES SOVEREIGNTY IN THE CANAL ZONE WAS NOT A NEGOTIABLE ITEM; THEY APPARENTLY CHOSE TO IGNORE THIS ADVICE.

5. ON APRIL 5, A SENSE-OF-THE-SENATE RESOLUTION WAS INTRO-

DUCED CALLING FOR CONTINUED UNITED STATES SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE CANAL ZONE. AT THIS TIME, 35 SENATORS -- MORE THAN ONE-THIRD OF THE MEMBERS OF THE SENATE -- HAVE JOINED IN SPONSORING IT. NO GREAT EFFORT WAS REQUIRED TO PICK UP CO-SPONSORS FOR THIS RESOLUTION; IN FACT, MOST OF THE SIGNATURES WERE COLLECTED IN A SINGLE AFTERNOON.

6. THIS LIST OF CO-SPONSORS IS NOTEWORTHY NOT ONLY FOR ITS NUMBERS, BUT FOR ITS LEADERSHIP QUALITY. IT INCLUDES THE CHAIRMAN AND RANKING REPUBLICAN OF THE AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY COMMITTEE, THE CHAIRMAN AND RANKING REPUBLICAN OF THE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE, AND CHAIRMAN AND RANKING REPUBLICAN OF THE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE, THE CHAIRMAN AND RANKING REPUBLICAN OF THE VETERANS AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, AND THE CHAIRMAN AND RANKING REPUBLICAN OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES. IT ALSO INCLUDES THE RANKING REPUBLICANS OF THE AERONAUTICAL AND SPACE SCIENCES COMMITTEE, THE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE, THE BANKING COMMITTEE, THE COMMERCE COMMITTEE, THE FINANCE COMMITTEE, THE INTERIOR COMMITTEE AND THE PUBLIC WORKS COMMITTEE. AT THE OTHER END OF THE SENIORITY SPECTRUM, IT INCLUDES EVERY FRESHMAN REPUBLICAN SENATOR.

7. THERE IS NO WAY IN WHICH THE JOINT STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES CAN BE RECONCILED WITH THE SENATE RESOLUTION. THERE IS NO WAY THAT ANY TREATY CAN ADEQUATELY PROTECT AND DEFEND OUR INTERESTS IN OPERATING THE CANAL WHEN IT HAS AS ITS BASIS THE ABROGATION OF SOVEREIGNTY. AND SOVEREIGNTY IS THE NUB OF THE ISSUE. IN THE COMPLICATED POWER RELATIONSHIPS OF THE MODERN WORLD, THE CONTINUED EXERCISE OF SOVEREIGNTY IS THE ONLY WAY TO KEEP THE CANAL OPERATING EFFICIENTLY AND CONTINUOUSLY, NOT ONLY FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE UNITED STATES BUT ALSO FOR THE ENTIRE WORLD.

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8. INDEED, PERPETUAL UNITED STATES CONTROL WAS AN ESSENTIAL PART OF THE JURIDICAL ARRANGEMENT THAT ENABLED THE UNITED STATES TO BUILD THE CANAL AND KEEP IT OPERATING THROUGH WAR AND PEACE.

9. AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY, THE FRENCH-OWNED CANAL COMPANY IN THE COLOMBIAN PROVINCE OF PANAMA HAD VIRTUALLY FAILED. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE UNITED STATES ALREADY WAS

INVOLVED IN CONSTRUCTION OF AN ISTHMIAN CANAL IN NICARAGUA. IT WAS THE COLOMBIAN GOVERNMENT THAT OPENED NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES TO ABANDON THE PROJECT IN NICARAGUA AND, INSTEAD, BUILD THE CANAL IN PANAMA.

10. IN THE SPOONER ACT OF 1902, CONGRESS AUTHORIZED THEODORE ROOSEVELT TO NEGOTIATE WITH COLOMBIA BUT ONLY ON THE

BASIS OF PERPETUAL UNITED STATES CONTROL. WHEN THE INTERNAL DISSENSIONS OF COLOMBIAN POLITICS DENIED THE PEOPLE OF PANAMA THE BENEFITS OF THE PROPOSED CANAL, PANAMANIAN PATRIOTS RISKED THEIR LIVES AND PROPERTY TO PROCLAIM INDEPENDENCE. IN ENSUING NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES, THE NEW GOVERNMENT OF PANAMA AGREED TO PERPETUAL UNITED STATES SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE CANAL ZONE AS THE NECESSARY INDUCEMENT TO DIVERT UNITED STATES INTERESTS FROM NICARAGUA TO PANAMA.

11. THE CANAL ZONE IS UNITED STATES TERRITORY. IT WAS OBTAINED BOTH BY GRANT OF SOVEREIGNTY IN THE 1903 TREATY, AND BY PURCHASE OF ALL OUTSTANDING RIGHTS AND TITLES IN PERPETUITY. IN ALL, WE HAVE PAID \$163,718,571 FOR THESE RIGHTS AND TITLES, INCLUDING THE ASSUMPTION OF THE ANNUITY FORMERLY PAID BY THE PANAMA RAILROAD TO COLOMBIA.

12. THE TOTAL UNITED STATES INVESTMENT, INCLUDING DEFENSE, AMOUNTS TO NEARLY \$6 BILLION. THERE IS NO "LEASE" INVOLVED WHATSOEVER. IN FACT, THE PURCHASE OF THE CANAL ZONE IS THE MOST EXPENSIVE TERRITORIAL ACQUISITION IN THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, OUTSTRIPPING BY FAR THE LOUISIANA AND ALASKAN PURCHASES OF \$15 MILLION AND \$7.2 MILLION RESPECTIVELY.

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13. THE TREATY OF 1903 SPECIFICALLY EXCLUDED PANAMA FROM AN EXERCISE OF SOVEREIGNTY IN THE ZONE. CONGRESS IS, THEREFORE THE LEGISLATURE FOR THE CANAL ZONE. CONGRESS HAS SET UP A CANAL ZONE CODE, A FEDERAL DISTRICT COURT AT BALBOA, AND A GOVERNMENT FOR THE ZONE. MUCH OF THE DOMESTIC LEGISLATION OF THIS COUNTRY APPLIES IN THE CANAL ZONE, UNLESS SPECIFICALLY EXCEPTED.

14. IF THE UNITED STATES WERE TO SURRENDER ITS SOVEREIGNTY, PANAMA COULD EASILY DESTROY HERSELF UNDER UNBEARABLE PRESSURES, BOTH INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL.

15. WITHOUT CONTINUED UNITED STATES SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE CANAL ZONE, ANY TREATY SIGNED WITH PANAMA WOULD BECOME A

MERE SCRAP OF PAPER, SUBJECT TO THE ESCALATING DEMANDS OF  
INTERNAL PANAMANIAN POLITICS.

16. THE SUEZ CANAL IS A MUTE REMINDER OF WHAT HAPPENS  
WHEN A POWERLESS NATION ASSUMES A RESPONSIBILITY IT IS  
UNABLE TO SUPPORT.

17. IT IS UNFORTUNATE THAT THE GIVEAWAY MENTALITY OF  
SOME IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAS MISLED THE PANAMANIAN

PEOPLE ABOUT THE TRUE STATUS OF THE ZONE AND THE MOOD OF  
THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

18. THE UNITED STATES CAN CONTINUE TO MAKE PROPER  
ADJUSTMENTS IN OUR TREATY RELATIONSHIP WITH PANAMA, WITHIN  
THE FRAMEWORK OF THE RETENTION OF SOVEREIGNTY. THROUGH  
APPROPRIATE LEGISLATION NOW INTRODUCED IN THE SENATE AND  
HOUSE, THE UNITED STATES SHOULD MAKE A COMMITMENT FOR THE  
MAJOR MODERNIZATION OF THE PRESENT CANAL UNDER THE PRESENT  
TREATY. SUCH A PROJECT, WHOSE COST HAS BEEN ESTIMATED AT  
\$950 MILLION, WOULD HAVE A MAJOR IMPACT UPON ALL LEVELS  
OF THE PANAMANIAN ECONOMY, ESTABLISHING THE JOB SKILLS AND  
ECONOMIC BASE THAT WOULD GIVE PANAMANIAN ONE OF THE  
HIGHEST STANDARDS OF LIVING IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE.

19. CREATIVE NEGOTIATIONS WOULD RE-ESTABLISH A HARMONIOUS  
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PARTNERSHIP AS THESE TWO NATIONS WORK TOGETHER FOR THEIR  
MUTUAL BENEFIT AND THE WORLD'S. (END TEXT. RUSH

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